2: Schaden--51 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúi) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and destribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 To the extent that a social and religious calendar exists, it is 196 that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is 221 only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Kaungarai, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatikungarai, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 even the tabaré maize, which ripens in three or four months, is 221 planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [191] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 94 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1948, p. 30.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
177 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
182 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of
• 434 the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own roça. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
434 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or
177 he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may own cut as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his roça while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
476 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
182 do to "catch up" with the work of his own roça. He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the
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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

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